theyr hope in the mercy of our lorde, & re-
prehendynge (as it were somwhat in my
way) ẏ grete folysshe ambycyon of ryche
men vtteryng theyr superfluyte and arro
gācy after deth, which at the vttermoste,
dethe sholde haue fynysshed. Also I som-
what sharpely rebuke theyr vyce, which
for theyr own auauntage, dooth abuse ẏ
folyshnesse of ryche men, whiche they ou-
ght specyally to rebulle. For who dare be
so bolde to monysshe lyberally men of gre-
te power & rychesse, yf suche as ꝓfesse thē
deed from the worlde do flatter theyr vy-
ces, be it there be no suche as I haue dy-
scrybed, yet not wstandynge I haue here
shewed an example whiche they ought to
eschewe. But & yf there be many thinges
spoken comynly among the people moche
more detestable than these which I haue
wryten, than men indifferēt may se ther-
in my cyuylyte, & correct theyr owne vy-
ce. & suche as be not culpable may amend
& cause to refrayn thē which dooth other

wyse. Truly I haue spoken nothynge to
the reproche of ony state, onelesse ye wyll
say, that he sclaundrech all ỹ chrystianute,
which speketh ony thyng (& that by way
of monytion) agaynst the corrupt maners
of chrysten men. But it were theyr parte
in especyall: whome the honour of theyr
ordre so moche moueth, to restrayne them
whiche w̄ theyr noughty dedes dooth so
moche dishonest theyr ordre. But in so mo
che now as they acknowlege suche theyr
faythfull felawes, and moreouer gretely
estemeth, & defēdeth them. How can they
than for shame complayne or say that the
estymacyon of theyr ordre is ony thynge
empeched of hym ỹ dooth monysshe them
for theyr profyte? Here in I suppose good
reder the intent of our autour, in this sayd
dyaloge was to shew rather a loue to war
de relygyō & all good relygious men, whi
che thyng caused me the rather to traduct
this mater in to our englysshe tonge, than
as some (whose iugementes I do not gre

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tely regarde) sayth ẏ he wryteth agaynst them/ ferre dyfferyng from the opynyon & mynde of ẏ good relygious father saynt Hierome, in whose mouthe this saynge was often. Where vice is but generally re buked there no ꝑsone hath iniury or wron ge. Whiche lesson after my mynde, were moche more mete for euery christen man, than vnthankfully to repyne at suche as be studyous to do them good. Folowynge rather the example of ẏ vnkynd Grekes agaynst theyr good & valyaunt capytayn Agamemnon, than (as we sholde all) the chrysten charyte. But I wyll noo lenger hyndre you from our dyaloge.

¶ Mercolphus. Phedrus. Pulcher.

MErcolphus. Fro whens came hyther Phedrus, suppose ye not from Trophonius dene. Phedr⁹. Wherfore doost thou aske that questyon? Merc. For bycause ÿ arte moche sadder than thou arte wonte, more deformed, more fylthy, more ferse, to make fewe wordes, nothÿg at all after thy name. Phed. If (as we se by experyēce) they which cōtynew ony space in Foūders shoppes, draweth to them some blaknesse. What grete cause hast ÿ to merueyle, yf I beyng contynually so many days with two seke men, dyeng and buryed be more pensyf than I am wont. & also moch the more whan they were bothe my speci all frēdes? Merc. Who doost ÿ tell me was buryed. Phed. Dydest ÿ knowe one George balearyke? Merc. Onely I haue herde of him. for to my knowlege I neuer sawe his face. Phe. The other I am sure thou knowest nothynge at all / He was called Cornelius montius, with whome I had

grete famylyaryte many yeres. Merc. It
was neuer my chaunce to be ꝑsent at ony
mannes dethe. Phed. I haue ben more of
ten thā I wold. Merc. I pray the tell me,
is dethe so horryble a thyng as it is comꝯ
ly sayd? Phed. The passage toward deth
is more harde & paynfull thā dethe it self.
but he whiche casteth out of his mynde ꝑ
feruentnesse and ymagynacion of dethe: to
hym is released a grete parte of ꝑ payne.
To speke brefely, all that is paynfull, eyꝯ
ther in sekenesse, or in dethe, is made moꝯ
re tollerable yf a man cōmyt hymself holꝯ
ly to the wyll of god. For as concernyng ꝑ
felyng of dethe, (whan the very tyme the
soule is departynge from the body) after
my iugement is nothing at all/ or (if there
be ony) that it is very dull/ forbycause naꝯ
ture, before that come to passe) brīgeth in
a slombre, & maketh amased all the sensyꝯ
ble partyes. Merc. We are all borne wout
felyng of our selues. Phed. But not wout
felyng of our mother. Merc. Why dye we

not in lykewyse: wherfore hath god ap-
poynted dethe to be so cruciable & paynful
a thyng: Phed. He so ordeyned ẏ our na-
tyuytees sholde be paynfull and full of pe
ryls to the mother, that she myght so mo-
che more loue ẏ, whiche she had brought
forthe. Contrary wyse it was his pleasu
re that dethe sholde be ferefull/ leste euery
where men shold infere theyr own dethe.
For in so moche ẏ whan we may se dayly
many which do slee thẽselues, what thy-
kest thou to come, yf dethe had nothynge
horryble: as often as a man rebuketh his
feruaunt eyther his chylde/ yea, as often
as the wyfe shold take dyspleasure wͭ her
husbande, as often as ony maner of thig
dyde myscary, or ony thig chaũced beyng
sorowfull to ẏ mynde, by & by men wolde
reñe to hange themselues, to kyll them wͭ
swerde, to drawe them to some conueny-
ent place where they myght cast thẽselfes
down heedlynges, eyther to poyson/ now
the bytternesse of dethe maketh vs ẏ we

loue better our lyfe/in especyal whan phy
syciēs can not heale a man ones deed. Albe
it lyke as we all haue not lyke chaunce in
our natyuyte/euen so there be diuers ma
ners & ways of deth. Some short & swyft
deth deliuereth hens. some other wasteth
a waye wt slowe dethe. Lethargici ẏ is to
say suche as hath the sekenes of forgetful
nesse. In lykewyse they whiche be stong
of the venymous Aspys altogyder in a slō
bryng, dyeth wout ony felyng of thēselfe.
I haue obserued this thyng in especyall,
that there is no kynde of dethe so paynful
but it is tollerable after ẏ a man hath wt a
fully fyxed mynde decreed for to go hens.
Merc. Whither of these dethes thynkest ẏ
to be moost lyke the dethe of a chrystyan?
Phed. Me semeth the dethe of George mo
re honorable. Merc. But I pray you hath
dethe also his couetousnesse of honoure?
Phed. I dyde neuer se two persones dy-
eng so vnlyke a dethe. y fye haue so moche
leysure to here, I wyl shewe you playnly

ꝑ departyng of bothe twayne. but it shall be thy parte to iuge whiche of the dethes is mooste to be wyshed to a chrysten man. Merc. yea, mary I pray the that ꝑ wylt not thynke it greuous to tell/for I wolde here nothyng more gladly. Phed. Therfore here first of George. After that deth had shewed certayne & sure tokens of hymselfe the flocke of phisicions which of longe tyme had take cure of this pacient, nothyng beyng aknowen of the despayre of lyfe began to alke theyr sypendes. Merc. How many were they? Phed. Sōtymes ten, & somtyme twelue, & syr whan they were fewest. Merc. There was ynow to kyll a man in good helthe. Phed. After the tyme they had theyr money/than warned they pryuely suche as were about the seke man, that dethe was at hande. And ꝑ they sholde prepayre, and make redy all suche thynges as sholde parteyne vnto ꝑ helthe of the soule/seyng that there was no hope at all of ony bodyly welthe. And

therupon the seke man was louyngly, by
suche as were his special frendes, monyt
shed that he sholde cõmyt ỹ cure of his bo-
dy to god. and that he sholde onely mynde
those thynges whiche pteyned to departe
wel hens. As soone as George herde these
thynges: he loked, & that very fersly, vpõ
the physicions / and as it were one sore dy
spleased that they sholde all gyue hym vp,
they sayd to hym agayne, that they were
physycions & no goddes / & that they had
done so moche as they coude by theyr scy-
ence. albeit that there was no medycyne
whiche coude remedy agaynst the ordy-
naunce of god. This doone, they go in to ỹ
next chambre. Here. what dyde they ta-
ry styl after that they had receyued theyr
wages? Shed. They were not yet agreed
what kynde of sekenesse it was. One af-
fyrmed ỹ it was a dropsy / another sayd
it was a tympany. some sayd it was apo
stome in ỹ inner partes. some sayd it was
one dysease, some another. and all the ty-

me they toke in gouernaunce the pacyent they dyſputed ſtyſly what maner of ſekenes it ſhold be. Merc. O, how happy was the pacyent in ꝑ meane tyme. Phed. But bycauſe at length to ende theyr cõtencyon they deſyred his wyfe to aſke of ſuche as were his frendes to ſuffre an Anothomye or ſection to be made of the deed body. and that it ſhold cauſe moche honour to be ſpoken/ and alſo ꝑ it was ſo accuſtomed to be done for honours ſake in grete noble men. And moreouer that the thing it ſelf ſholde be helthfull to many/ & alſo merytoryous to the ſeke man. And the rather to optayn theyr purpoſe they ꝓmiſed to bye of theyr owne charges a trentall of maſſes, for the profyte of the deed. This requeſt hardly, but at the length With intreatynge of the wyfe & certayn of his kynſmen was opteyned. Theſe maters doone the garde of phyſiciens dyde wynde theſelues away/ for they ſay comynly, ꝑ it is not conuenyent that they which be wont to helpe lyfe:

sholde be ẏ beholders of dethe, or be presēt at buryalles. Anone was called for one Bernardin⁹ a reuerend father as ye knowe well ynough, keper of one of saynt frāceys flockes, to here his cōfessyon. Before the confessyon was all togyder fynysshed a multytude of the. iiij. ordres, whome ẏ people call the beggyng ordres was come in to the hous. Merc. So many deuourīg Vultures to one poore pyece of caryon? Phed. Than afterwarde the parysshe preste was called for to anoyle the man, and to gyue hym the sacrament of our lordes body. Merc. Deuoutly. Phed. But there was almoost a blody fray betwyxte ẏ parysshe preste & the other solytary fathers. Merc. At the seke mānes bed? Phed. And also Chryst hymselfe lokyng vpon them. Merc. What caused all the besynesse so sodeynly? Phed. The parisshe preste (after that he knewe the seke man was cōfessed to ẏ Francyscane) sayd that he wolde neyther mynystre the sacrament of anoylyng

nor of the aulter/or ony buryeng/onelesse that he herde w̄ his eares the seke mānes cōfession. He sayd moreouer, that he was the parysshe preste/and that he must gyue accompt to god for his lytell shepe. but ẏ he sayd he coude not do yf onely he were ignoraunt of the secretes of his conscyence. Merc. Semed he not to speke reasonably? Phed. Not vnto them veryly. For they all cryed agaynst hym, and in especy all Bernardinus, & Vincentius the domynycan. Merc. What reasōs brought they? Phed. They set vpon the poore preste w̄ grete rebukes and raylynges/callyng hȳ often asse, and a mete keper for hogges. I sayd Vincentius, am a bacheler of dyuynyte formate/and shortly shall be lycencyate/and also shall be promoted with the tytle of a doctour. Thou arte scarcely come to the redyng of the gospell. How is it than possyble that thou canst excuse, and iuge the secretes of ony mannes conscyence? But and yf thou lyste for to be besyed,

goo see what thy harlottes, and bastarde brattes doo at home. and many other obprobrious thynges whiche I am gretly ashamed to shewe. Mers. What sayd he/ was he domme at those wordes? Phed. Domme? ya, thou woldest haue sayd he had ben as the prouerbe sayth. A grashop taken by the wynges. I sayd he, shall make of beane stalkes moch better bachelers than thou arte. The tutours and cappytaynes of youre ordres Dompnyke and Fraunceys, where lerned they I pray you Aristoteles phylophy/or the argumentes of Thomas/eyther Scotus speculaciōs? or where I pray you were they made bachelers? ye creped in to ỹ worlde, than easly to belcue youre superstycions/ but than ye were but a fewe & lowly. and some also nicke & well lerned men. Than your nestes were in the feldes and poore cotages/ but shortly after ye flitted thens, bothe in to ỹ rycheste cytees and in to the fayrest partes of the. Seyng there be so many poore byl-

lages in ẏ countree abrode whiche can not fynde a shepeherde/there shold ye bestow your labours. there were conuenyent places for you to labour in/but now ye wyll be nowhere but in ẏ houses of ryche men. ye face & crake vnder the name of popes/ but your pryuyleges be not worth a strawe: but where as the bysshop, parsone, or vycare dooth not his duety. In my chyrche shall none of you preche so longe as I am the curate and haue my helthe. I am no bacheler, neyther saynt Martyn was ony bacheler, and yet he played ẏ very bysshop. yf I lacke lernyng I wyll not aske it of you. Suppose ye ẏ the worlde is yet so blynd & folysshe, that (whersoeuer they se saynt Domynyke or Fraunceys cote) they wyll thynke theyr sanctymony and holynes there to be: or is it to you ony mater at all what I do at home at my hous: what pageauntes ye play in your deñes, & what knauery ye vse with holy nonnes all the worlde knoweth. Also how lytell ẏ

better or clener be the ryche mennes how
ses which ye haunt is opēly knowen. yea
as the prouerbe sayth, bothe to blere eyed
psones & barbours. To tell the what was
more spoken I dare not. truly he handled
those reuerend fathers with small reuerē
ce. And none ende sholde haue ben, oneles
Georgius had sygnyfied with waggyng
of his hande, ẏ he wolde say some thyng.
Moche adoo it was to opteyne that theyr
chydyng myght ceale so longe. than sayd
the seke man. Kepe peas betwene you, I
wyll confesse me agayn to the my curate/
than after thou shalt be payed thy money
or thou go out of this hous / bothe for bell
ryngynge, dyriges, the herse, for buryall
vnd stole. neyther by ony meanes I wyll
gyue the occasion to cōplayn on me. Merc.
Dyde the preste refuse so equal a cōdyciō?
Phed. Nothyng at all onely he murmu-
red moche of the confessyon, which he for-
gaue ẏ seke man. What nedeth it, sayd he,
in repetyng the same agayn to fatygate &

trouble bothe the seke man & the preste: in
repetyng all one thyng: If he had confes-
sed hym to me in season, parauenture he
sholde haue made his Wyll better for his
soule helth, now take ye the charge. This
idyfferency of the seke sore agreued those
solytary fathers, nothyng contented that
ony morsell of theyr pray shold be cut out
for ỹ parysshe preste. But I went betwe-
ne them & concluded so ỹ theyr stryfe was
ended. & the preste anoyled the seke man, &
gaue hym our lordes body. And after he
was payde his money & went his way.
Merc. Dyde Caromenes than folowe af-
ter so greete a tẽpest: Phed. Nay by sayn
Mary, a sharper stourme folowed by & by.
Merc. I pray the What was the cause:
Phed. Thou shalt here. There were flock-
ked togyther in one hous foure ordres of
beggyng freres, the fyfthe ordre the Whi-
che be called the croked (the crouched fre-
res I Wolde say) came in amonge them.
Agaynst Whiche as it had bene a chylde

base goten, ỹ other foure arose all togyder
makyng noyse tell ado. and they asked the
fyfth ozdze whan euer they dyde se a cha-
ryot of. v. wheles / oz how they durst ma-
ke mo ozdzes of beggers thã there be Euã-
gelystes. By the same reason they sayd)
bzyng in hyder all beggers whiche ble to
syt at bzydges ỹ hye wayes. Merc. What
sayd ỹ crouched freres to ỹ? Whed. They
asked the other freres agayn / how ỹ cha-
ryot of the chyrche went, at suche tyme
whan there was no ozdze of beggers. and
agayn whan there was onely one, ỹ after
thze. foz truly the nombze (sayd they) of ỹ
euangelystes hath nomoze affynyte with
our ozdzes than w a dyce, which on euery
syde shewith. iiij. cozners. Who brought ỹ
Austyn freres in to the ozdze of beggers?
oz who ỹ Carmelytes? oz what tyme beg-
ged Augustyn oz Hely? foz these they ma-
ke the auctour of their ozdzes. These thõ-
derboltes with many other the crosled fre
res dyde clatter out, ỹ doubtles very man

fully. But bycause they had none to take parte with them / therfore thynkyng thē not able to resyst the violence of .iiii. suche hostes, gaue place / onely thretnyng them very cruelly: Merc. Than I trowe there was nomore brablyng. Phed. No mary. For this parte takynge and atonement a gaynst the fifth ordre was torned in to an open fray. The francyscan & the domynycan contended, that neyther the augustynyans nor the carmelytes were proprely called beggers / but rather mungrelles, & chaūgelynges. This stryfe dyde so moche encrease, that playnly I was afrayd lest it shold come to hand gryppes and strokes. Merc. Pyde the seke man abyde all these brablynges: Phed. These maters were not done at his bed syde, but in a court by whiche toyned to the chambre. But all ỹ wordes came to the seke man / for they dyde not whysper the mater, but it was spoken loude ynough, & ẅ ful shawmes, as ỹ prouerbe sayth. And thou knowest moost

comynly ẏ seke men are sharpe of heryng in especyally. Merc. But how ended ẏ ba tayle? Phed. The seke man sent vnto thē his wyfe, to exhorte them to kepe scylence a lytell whyle, & sayd that he wolde ende this variaūce. And so desyred, that for that tyme the Augustynyens & the Carmelytes wolde departe/ and ꝓmised that they sholde lose nothyng therby. And sayd more ouer ẏ so moche meate sholde be sent home to theyr houses: as the rest whiche taryed styll sholde haue. But he cōmaunded ẏ they shold all foure ordres be at his buryeng, & also the fyfth, and ẏ they shold euery one haue lyke porcion of money. Neuerthelesse he wolde in no wyse that they shold al syt togyder at dyner, lest ony trouble sholde insue at theyr metynge. Merc. Thou tellest me of a ryght good hous keper/ whiche at the poynt of dethe coud set in quyetnes so many besy maters. Phed. He had bē many yeres a capytayn in warres. there are wont dayly to spryng vp su

che clamourcs amonge the ſouldyours, Merc. Was he ryche? Phed. Very ryche. Merc. But it Was cuyl goten, w̄ ſpoylyng & ſacrylege. or robbynge holy places / extorcions & vsybes. Phed. Suche is the comyn facion of the cappytaynes in warres: nor I dare not ſtyfly ſwere that this man Was altogyder clere & differyng fro theyr maners. But as ferre as I can perceyue he gate more good w̄ pōlycy of wyt than with vyolence. Merc. How ſo? Phed. He vnderſtode very wel arythmetike or craft of nombryng. Merc. What therof? Phed. What than? To the hygh cappytayne he wolde ſomtyme accompt. xxx. M. ſouldyers, Whā there were ſcarcely. vii. M. And more ouer he payd to many of them neuer a deale. Merc. Certaynly ꝑ ſhe weſt me a worthy craft of accomptyng. Phed. And ſomtime he cauſed the warres by craft to contynue & was wont alſo to receyue euery moneth money of vyllages & townes: bothe of his ennmyes & frendes. of his en

myes: to saue them harmeles, of his frendes to suffer theym to make peace with theyr ennemyes. Merc. I know of olde the maners of souldyers. but go forthe in your tale. Phed. Bernarde and Vyncent with certayne other of theyr cõpanyons taryed styll with the seke man / the other whiche were departed had bytayles sent theym. Merc. Dydenot they agre well to gyder whiche taryed styll in the house: Phed. not alway, they like hogges grũted I wote not wherfore, of ỹ prefermẽtes of theyr bulles, but leste theyr deuyse sholde not come to passe, they dissembled for that tyme. Here they brought forthe his testament, and certayne demaundes were asked before Wytnesses, of suche thynges whiche they had concluded amonge thẽselues before. Merc. I am very desyrous to here what thynges they were. Phed. I shall tell the chyef poyntes, for ỹ mater is somewhat tedyous. There remayned his wyfe. xxxviii. peres of aege / beynge

a Woman certaynly very commẽdable & wyse. Two sones, the eldre was .xix. yeres of aege, and the other .xv. And as many doughters, bothe within aege. Thus was it deuysed by his testamẽt, that his wyfe (bycause they coude not enforce her to be a Nonne) sholde take the habyte of a Bighyne, ỹ is an ordre betwene Nonnes and laykes. The elder sone, bycause they coude not entyse hym to be of ony solitary profession. Merc. An olde fore is taken but seldon in a snare. Phed. Hastely after his faders buriens they determyned that he sholde in al haste go to Rome, and there bye ỹ popes dyspensacyon before his lawful aege to be maden preste, to syng dayly in Vatycanes temple, for his faders soule. And ỹ he sholde crepe on his knees euery fryday all ỹ holy stayres in Laterane. Merc. Dyde he take all this wyllyngly? Phed. Euen to be playne, as asses be wõt to take vpon them theyr caryages. Howeuer ỹ the yongest sone shold be professed to

saynt Fraũceys, ẏ elder doughter to saynt Clare, the yongest to saynt Katheryn. For they coude bryng nomore of theyr purpose to passe. for George was mided, bycause he wold haue god more bound to hym, to haue his wyfe & .iiii. chyldren to be parted amonge the .v. ordres of beggers / and there was grete procurement therto / but the wife and the eldest sone were to olde to agre thereto, eyther for fayre wordes or foule. Merc. A propre facyon of dysinherytyng. Phed. The inherytaunce altogyder was in suche wyse deuyded, that after ẏ charges of the buryeng was taken out of all the hole, one parte sholde inure to ẏ wyfe vpon this cõdycion / that she sholde lyue wͭ the one halfe therof / the other half shold be put in the place where she shold oblyge herself. Frõ whens, yf she at any tyme hereafter departed, all the same money sholde remayne to ẏ flocke: Another lyke porcion shold be gyuen to ẏ eldest sone, to whome by & by after sholde be inioyned a iour

ney toward Rome/and as moche as was
suffycient to bye his bulles, & to paye his
costes of meate and drynke at Rome. And
yf he refused to be made prieste, his porcio
shold than be deuyded betwene the freres
of saynt Fraunceys, and of saynt Domy-
nyke/and yet I feare me that he wyll not
profyte theyr iniuction/the yong man ap-
pered to abhorre so moche frō holy ordres.
Two porcyons sholde be put in to the mo-
nastery which was content to take ỹ yon
gest sone. Other two partes also to the .ii.
monasteryes where the doughters were
but vnder this condycion/ỹ yf they at ony
tyme hereafter refused to pfesse ỹ lyfe, yet
all the money sholde be in theyr custody,
sauf, & in no wyse dymynysshed. Agayn
on the other syde, the good father Bernar
dyne must haue one of the porcios, & Vyn
cent another/& half of one of the porcyons
to ỹ Charter monkes, for cōmunyon and
parte takyng of all good workes, whiche
sholde be done in all the ordre. All the rest

sholde be distrybute to poore people ẏ were pryuely kept/vpon whome Bernardyne and Vyncent thought it best bestowed. Merc. ẏ sholdest haue sayd as ẏ lawyers do, Quos vel quas. Phed. After the wyll was redde/they asked hī vnder these wordes. George balearike, doost ẏ beyng on lyue & hole memory approue this testamēt, which ẏ lately hast made of thyn own mȳde? He answered/ I do approue it. & is this thy last & īmutable wyl? it is. And ẏ doost īstytute & ordeyn me & fader bacheler Vȳcent here: executors of thy last wyll? I do ordeyne. Than they cōmaunded hym yet ones to subscrybe it with his owne hand. Merc. How coud he, than beyng at poynt of dethe? Phed. Bernardin⁹ dyd gouerne ẏ seke mañes hande. Merc. what dyde he subscrybe? Phed. These wordes. ẏ hygh displeasure of saynt Fraūceys & saynt Domynyke may come to hȳ whiche gooth about to chaūge ony thīg herin. Merc. But feared they not ẏ action called in the lawe

Actio officiosi testamenti. Phed. No, no: this action lyeth not in those thinges ẏ be dedycate to god / neyther I thynke ẏ ony man is so folysshe to make ony trouble w̄ god. All these maters fynysshed, the wyfe & the chyldren gaue theyr ryght hādes to the seke man. swerynge that they shold obserue that thyng whiche they had receyued. ¶ After these thynges they began to comyn (not without stryfe) of the funeral pompe. At last this sentēce had ẏ vyctory, that. ix. of of euery one of ẏ. v. ordres shold be present in the honour of the. v. bokes of Moyses / and of the. ix. ordres of aūgelles. And ẏ euery ordre sholde haue theyr crosse borne before them / and they sholde synge theyr mournyng songes. Moreouer. xxx. (besyde suche as were kyñe to hym) shold be hyred, (for so many pyeces of money was our lorde solde) all in blacke to bere ẏ torches. & for his honours sake. xii. mourners. (this nombre is in ẏ honour of ẏ. xii apostles,) sholde go about the corps. Next

after sholde folowe Georges owne hors all in blacke, with his necke so bound doune to his knees as though he wold be sene to seke his mayster on the erthe. ¶ It was forthermore procured that the couerynge which sholde be cast ouer him, sholde shewe on euery party his armes. Lykewise euery torche & blacke garment sholde ꝑ same. The corps they purposed sholde be layde at the ryght hande of the hygh aulter in a tombe of marble, whiche sholde be made iiij. fote hygh fro the the ground. He sholde lye in the top of it grauen in a whyte marble stone, all armed fro top to toe. neyther myght ꝑ helmet lacke his creste. the creste was the necke of an Inocrotale. A target in the left arme, in the which was his armes blased in this wyse, Thre wylde bores heedes all of golde in a syluer felde. A swerde by his syde with a gylted pomell. The gyrdle was gylted, & deuyded with studdes of precyous stones. Golden spurres to his fete, bycause he was a gentyll

mā of cote armour, vnder his fete shold be set a leoperd, the brynkes of his sepulker sholde haue an epitaphye mete for a worthy man. He was wyllyng ẏ his hert sholde be buried seuerally in a chapell of saynt franceys. He cōmitted ẏ other inward partys of his body to the parysshe prest, to be buryed honorably in a chapel of our lady. Merc. An honourable buryenge, but very chargeable. At venyce a pore cobler sholde haue more honour for a lytel coste. for company maketh ornate & elygant the bere, & there somtyme syx hondreth monkes: some in sleueles sloppes, & other some w̄ copes wyll folowe one corps. Phed. I haue sene that myself, & haue somtime laughed at suche folysshe vaynglories of poore mē. there goeth fullers & curriers before: & coblers behynd, & mōkes in ẏ myddest. thou woldest say they were mōsters / neyther here was ony other thynge yf ẏ had sene it. It was also ꝓuided by George, ẏ Barnardyne & Vyncent shold decerne by lottes

whiche of them sholde haue the hyghest place in the grete pompe. And afterwarde other sholde doo soo lykewyse, lest ony rumour or besynesse sholde be for the same. The parysshe preste & his clerkes were apoynted to the moost inferyour place, that was to go the formest / neyther ẏ solytary fathers wolde suffre it otherwyse. Merc. He coude not onely ordeyn an army to batayle / but also other solempne tryūphes and pōpes. Phed. It was also prouyded that the masse of Requiem whiche sholde be done by the parysshe preste sholde be in prycke songe, for ẏ more honour. ¶ Whyle these thynges and certayne other were in deuysyng, the seke man shaked very sore, and dyde gyue certayne parfyte tokēs that his laste tyme was nygh at hande. The last acte of the comedy was therfore prepared. Merc. Is it not yet at an ende? Phed. The popes bull was there rehersed / in the whiche was graunted remyssyon of all his synnes quyte and clene /

and all the feare of purgatory was taken away. Beside al these al his goodes was iustyfied. Merc. Suche as was goten by extorcyon and robbery? Phed. Certaynly euen suche as were goten by ẏ lawe of batayle or sowlderye. But it fortuned to be presēt one Phylyp a man of lawe ẏ wyfs brother, whiche marked a place in ẏ bull otherwise set than it ought to be/ & caused suspecyon that it was but forged. Merc. Nay, that was not done in tyme. he sholde haue rather dyssēbled it, though there had ben errour therin/ and the seke man sholde haue done neuer the worse. Phed. I thinke the same. For the seke man was so troubled with this mater, that he was not ferre of from disperacion. And there father bacheler Uyncēt played the man. He cōmaunded George to be of a quyet mynde, he sayd that he had auctoryte bothe to correct ony thyng whiche was fals in the bulles, eyther to restore ony thynge ẏ lacketh. But yf the bull deceyue the, euen ve

ry now I put my soule for thyne / ỹ thyne
may come to heuen, and myne I gyue for
euer to the derkest pyt of hell. Merc. But
wyll god accept suche chaungyng of sou-
les: and yf he wolde, was this prouysion
for George with suche a guage suffycyēt:
What & yf the soule of Vyncent was (wi-
out ony chaūgig at all) due to hell. Phed.
I shewed you as ỹ mater was / but Vyn
cent fynyshed that maner. The pacyent se
med to take a good stomacke to hym / by
by was red ỹ pardons, wherin was pro-
mysed to George to be parte taker of all ỹ
workes whiche sholde be done by the. iii.
ordres, & of the Charter monkes. Mer. I
wolde be afrayde leste I sholde be thrust
downe to the botom of hell, yf I sholde be-
re suche an vnprofitable burden. Phed. I
speke of theyr good werkes: which dooth
no other wyse aggrauate the soule redy to
departe, than fethers dooth the byrde.
Merc. To whome bequeth they theyr yll
workes: Phed. To the landes kneyghtes

of Germany. Merc. By what auctoryte? Phed. Of the gospell, sayeng to hym that hath: it shall be gyuen, and withall was reherced the nõbre of masses and nocturnes, whiche shulde accompanye the dead mannes soule, truely it was an vnreasonable nombre. After all these thynges, he was confessed, & had absolucyon. Merc. Dyed he thus? Phed. Not yet. A matte of russhes was spred vpon the grounde, in suche wyse that the vpper parte was lapped togyther, for to make as it were a similitude of a bolster. Merc. What mēt they by that? Phed. They sparpled it all ouer with asshes, but very thynnely, and there they layde the sycke mannes body. A gray freres cote was spred aboue him, but beyng halowed before with a certeyn prayers & holy water. A cowle was put vnder his hed, for at that tyme it coulde not be put vpon hym, and with all was layde the bull and the pardons. Merc. A newe maner of dethe. Phed. But they af-

syrme styffely ẏ he deuyll hath no power ouer them whiche dyeth in suche fasshyon. So they sayde that bothe saynt Martyne and saynte Frauncys dyed. Merc. But then theyr lyues were no lesse vertuous. I praye the tell me what folowed? Phed. They reachyd the ymage of the crosse, & a waxe candell to the sycke man. At the syght of the crosse he sayd, I was wonte in batayles to be defendyd with myne owne bucklar, but now I wyll put this bucklar agaynste myne enemye, and kyssed it, and put it towarde the left shulder. To the holy candell he sayd: in tyme past I haue ben valyaũt in warres with speare, nowe I wyll shake this speare agaynste the enemy of soules. Merc. Euyn lyke a man of warre. Phed. These wordes he spake laste, for by and by his tonge was taken with dethe, and with all the pangys of dethe came vppon hym. Barnardyne stode harde by hym on the ryght hande, and Vincent on the left syde, bothe

two lowde ynough/the one shewed ẏ pycture of saynt Frãceys, the other of saynt Domynyke/the other good holy fathers sparpled abrode about the chambre, mombled vp besyly certayn psalmes. Bernardyne with greate out cryes precelled his ryght eare, and Vyncent the lefte. Merc. What cried they? Phed. Bernardyne sayd in this wyse. George balearyke, yf thou now approue those thynges, whiche we haue done betwyxt vs: bowe downe thy heed towarde thy ryght syde. He dyde so. Vyncent on the other syde sayd, be nothig adredde George/thou hast saynt Frãceys and saynt Domynyke thy defenders, care nothing at all. Remembre what a grete sorte of merytes, what a strong Bull. brefely, remembre that my soule is pledged for thyne, If there were ony ieopardy, yf thou vnderstand what I say, and also alo west ẏ same, bowe doun thy heed toward the left syde. He dyde so. And agayn with a lyke outcry, they sayd bothe. yf ẏ thyn

kest surely all these thynges thyrste do Wne my hande/and with the same he thirst doune his hande. And so in doWynge his heed here and there/ and puttynge doune hãdes, Was almoost. iii. houres past. And shortly after Whan George began to gaspe, there Bernardyne standyng vp pnoūced the absolucyon/ Whiche he coude not parfitely fynysshe, before George Was departed. this Was a lytel after mydnyght. in the morynyng the Anothomy Was made. Merc. What noysome thyng Was foūde Within hym? Phed. Thou remembrest me in good tyme/ for it Was gone out of my remembraunce. A pyece of lead cleued in the skyñe, Which closeth the herte and the lyghtes about, & dooth seperate them from the mylte and the lyuer, called Diaphragma. Merc. How came it there? Ph. His Wyfe shewed that he Was ones stryken With a goñe stone/and therof the physyciens coniectured that a pyece of ỹ lead moltyd, tarryed styll Within his body. By-

and by, the corps all to cut and dilanyate
as well as it wolde be, was put in a gray
freres cote. After dyner, the burying was
done with suche and lyke solempnytye,
as it was decreed before. Merc. I neuer
herde of a more curious dethe, nor a corps
more ambycyous. But I suppose thou
woldest not haue this spoken aboode.
Phed. Wherefore? Merc. Leste the hur-
nettes wolde be anangred. Phed. There
is no ieoperdy at all. For yf these thynges
be godly whiche I shewe, it is theyr pro-
fet that the people do know them, yf they
be other wyse, so many as be good among
them, wyll gyue me thankes whiche ha-
ue shewed forthe suche, whyrby some cor-
recte w shame, may refrayne lyke dedes.
Also such as be spyte, may take hede lest
they be drawen in to like errour, for there
be amonge this sorte great wyse men, e-
very godly, whiche hathe often complay-
ned to me, that by the superstition impro-
byte or lewdnes of a fewe, the hole order

is brought to hatred of good men. Merc. Thou sayest very ryght, and boldely/but I am very desyrous to knowe, how Cornelius dyed. Phed. Like as he lyued greuous to no man, so dyed he. He was euery yere greued with the febre, cōmyng to hym at certeyne tymes. The same (bothe for bycause he was somewhat in age: for he was past thre score yeres) are for other causes more than was wont infebled the man, and it apered that he felt before that his fatall day was at hande. For the fourthe daye before he dyed, was Sondaye, our lordes daye, he wente to the temple, was confessyd to his curate, he herde the cōmune preachynge and masse/ and after the masse was done, he was howseled, and so wente home. Merc. Used he no Physycyons? Phed. Onely one he counselled, but he was no lesse a good mā, then a good Phisycyon, his name is Jacobus Castrutius. Merc. I knowe hym very well. There is no more pure man. Phed.

He answered ꝑ his frende sholde not lacke his dylygence/but he thought there was more socoure in god than in physycions. Cornelius dyde as gladly accepte his sayenge, as though he had shewed moost certayne hope of lyfe. Therfore albeit that after his power, he was alwayes very lybe rall to warde the poore, euen than all that myght be spared frō necessary ayde of his wyfe and chyldren, was dystributed to ꝑ poore and nedy men/and not to the ambycyous beggers, whiche we comynly mete in euery place/but to suche as were to be cōmended, whiche fought agaynst powerte, with al theyr deuyse and power. I desyred hym to lye hym doune/& rather to call the preste to hym, than to fatygate with labour his feble body. He gaue answere, that his specyall study was euer to helpe his frendes, yf he myght, rather than to put thē to paynes/neyther he wolde be vnlyke to hymself at the tyme of his dyenge/neyther truely he laye doune ony

more, but ỹ last day, and parte of ỹ night, wherin he departed out of this lyfe. Sõtyme for werinesse of his body he walked with a staffe, somtyme reposed in a chayre. He went seldome to bed, but in his clothes, & his heed reysed vpwarde. All this tyme he eyther gaue one thing or other to relyue the poore, but in especyall to them which were knowen poore, and dwelled nygh to hym, or elles he redde suche thynges in holy scrypture, whiche prouoketh a mannes conscyence to warde god, & also declareth his charyte to wardes vs. And whan he by reason of his werynesse could not rede hymself, than he herde some frende redyng before hym. Often tymes he exhorted with a behemẽt desyre, his family to loue one another, & to loue ỹ trouthe. He also louyngly conforted them whiche were pensyfe and sorowfull for his dethe. He gaue oftẽ monycion to suche as he put in trust, that nothyng of his dettes shold be vnpayde. Merc. Made he his wyll:

Phed. yes, longe before, in tyme of his
helthe / for he denayed vtterly that they
were called testamentes, whiche were
made of suche as lye on dyeng: but rather
folisshe dotinges. Merc. Dyd he bequethe
nothynge to monasteryes, or to nedy men
therin. Phed. Nothyng at all. I (sayd he)
haue for my parte distrybute those iytell
goodes whiche god hathe sent me. Ther-
fore now as I gyue the possession of them
to other: so I gyue also the dispensacyon
and ordering. And I trust that they wyll
dyspose thē more vtuously, then I haue
done my selfe. Merc. Dyd he not call to
hym suche holy mē as George dyd. Phed.
Neuer one. Neither was there any body
at all with hym, sauyng his owne fami-
lie, and two speciall frendes of his. Merc.
I merueyll what he ment. Phed. He said
vtterly that he wold be onerous to no mo
at his dethe, than he was at his natiui-
tie. Merc. I desyre instantly to here the
ende of this mater. Phed. Thou shalt here

it by and by. Thursday cam, he laye styll vpon his bed, felynge extreme werynes of his body, the curate was sent for, and anoyled hym, & by and by gaue hym the body of our lorde, without any confession at all. For he sayde there was no scrupe & doubte at all in his mynde, The preste began to aske of hym, with what pompe, and in what place he wolde be buried. He sayd agayn, bury me in suche wyse as ye wold bury a chrysten man of the lowest degree. For I care not in what place ye lay my wretchyd body, whiche shal be fownde in the last day aswell out of one place as other, where so euer it be hyd, nor I regarde any thyng at all the pompe of burieng. Shortly after, whā mēcion was made of ỹ rungyng of belles, trētals, & yeres myndes, of bulles, of bying part takyng of merites. Thā answered he thus, my curate, I shal do neuer ỹ worse, if no bell at all knoll for me. If it wyll please you to synge one bare masse for me it shalbe more thā nede.

Eyther yf there be ony thynge elles, whi-
che (bycause of the comyn custome of the
chyrche) may without offence of suche as
be infyrme persones scarcely be left out, ỹ
I ymytte to be at your aduyse. Neyther
I am minded to bye ony mañes prayers,
eyther to bereue ony man his merytes.
Haboundaunce of merytes floweth ouer
in Chyrist, and also I trust that ỹ prayers
and merytes of all thrysten men, (yf I be
a lyuynge membre) dooth prouffyte me.
Al my hope is in .ii. bulles & pryuyleges,
the one is of my offences, that ỹ chyef pa-
stour Jesus chyrst hath clene taken them
away, naylyng it to the crosse. the other is
that which he wrote and sealed with his
precyous blode, wherby he put vs in cer-
taynte of euerlasting lyfe, yf so be that we
put all our hole trust in hym. God forfend
that I armed with merytes, and bulles,
sholde prouoke my lorde god, to come in to
iugement with his bondman, beyng cer-
tayne of this; that all which be lyuynge,

shall not be iustyfied in his syght. I do ap
pele therfore from his iustyce, to his mer-
cy/for so moche as it is without measure,
& ineffable. ¶ After he had spoken these
wordes, the preste departed. Cornelij be-
yng mery and glad (as though he had con
ceyued a grete hope of helthe) cõmaunded
that suche places of holy scrypture sholde
be rehersed to hym, as were wryten to cõ
ferme the hope of resurrection, and the re-
warde of imortalyte. As for example the
texte of Esaye declaryng the dethe of Eze-
chias which was deferred, & the cãtycle.
Moreouer the. xv. chappytre of ỹ fyrst epy-
stle of Paule to the Corynthiens. Also out
of sayut Johñ the euangelyst of the dethe
of Lazar⁹/but namely ỹ hystory of Chry-
stes passyon, after the euangelystes. With
what a mynde deuoured he euery thyng.
syghyng at some thynges/& whan he her
de some other he (lyftyng vp his handes)
gaue thankes. At the heryng of dyuers o-
ther thynges, he wexed very mery, and

shewed hym outwardly glad/ & at many sayenges, he caste out many shorte prayers. After dyner, whan he had taken a lytell slepe, he cōmaunded that one shulde reherse to hym the .xij. chapytre of saynte Johñs Gospell, vnto the ende of the history. At whiche tyme ẏ woldest haue sayde the man had ben clerely transfigured and afflate wͭ a new spirite. Now it drewe towardes night, he called to hym his wyfe & chyldren. There (his feble body beynge reryd vp asmoche as he coulde suffer) he spake to them in this wyse: Moste dere wyfe, goddes pleasure is nowe to departe them whome he hathe vnyte before/ but this separacyon shal be but bodyly, and ẏ for a very shorte tyme. All thy dylygence, loue, and pytye, whiche thou were wont in tyme past to bere toward me and those moste dere chylderen, turne all towardes them. Neyther thynke that thou cannest any wise do higher pleasure to god or me, than yf thou nourysshe, brynge vp, and

mstytute theym whiche god hathe gyuen vs twayne, as fruyte of our maryage: that they may become Chrystes seruaun tes. As towardes them therfore double thy loue, and thynke that the porcyon of my loue is translate all in to the, whiche yf thou doest (as I doubte not but thou wylte) they shall in no wyse be sayde Or phanes. But and yf thou doest iterate ma trymonye. At that worde the wyfe brast out in weppynge, and began for to swere deuoutely, that she wolde neuer thynke of marpenge agayne. Here Cornelius sayde. My mooste dere beloued syster in Chryste, yf our lorde Jesus Chryst wyll vouchsafe for to graunte the this purpo se, and spyrytuall strengthe, slake not of thy parte from suche an heuenly calling. For that shall be bothe more conuenyent for thyn owen selfe, and also these chyldren. But yf soo be that the infyrmytye, and weykenesse of the flesshe calle the to ma rye agayne, knowe thou that my dethe

setteth the at lyberte from the lawe of our matrymony/ but ye arte not at large therby from the faythfull promyse, whiche ye hast made in bothe our names: to cure and bryng vp our comyn children. But as touchyng maryage, vse that lyberte whiche god hath pmytted the. Onely I pray and put you in remembraūce bothe, that thou do chuse a husbande with suche maners, and thou also vse the towarde hym in suche wyse that he may be led by his mere goodnesse, or prouoked through thy cōmodite or towardnes to loue his stepe sones. Take hede ye doost not bynde thy selfe to ony bowe. Kepe thyselfe at lyberte to god and our chyldren, whome ye must so bryng vp in al mekenesse, ye thou be no lesse cyrcū spect/ and ware lest they do addyct themselues to ony volūtary purposed lyuyng/ vnto the tyme it may appere by theyr aege and dyscrecyon, to what maner of lyuyng they be moost apte. ¶ Than after he torned toward his chyldren, and exhor

red them to the studye of vertue, & obeye
theyr moder, & one to loue another. These
thynges ended, he kyssed his wyfe, and
to his chyldren he gaue his blessyng, ma-
kynge ouer them the sygne of the crosse,
prayenge god to sende them good myude,
and Chrystes mercye. After this, he loked
vpon all that stode by, & sayde: God that
rose agayne in the mornyng, Wyll vouch-
safe to morow before the sone ryse, to euo-
cate and call out this symple soule from
the sepulchre of this bodye, from the dar-
kenes of this mortalitie, into his heuen-
ly light. I Wyll not that these yong chyl-
dren shall be fatygate and Wery'd With
vayne Watchynges. Let all other goo to
bedde also / one is sufficyente to Watche
with me, Whome I Wolde haue for to re
herse some holy scrypture. ¶ Whan the
nyght Was past, a lytell after foure of the
clocke, in the presence of all that Were in
the house, he cōmaunded one to rede out a
lowde the hole psalme Whiche our lorde

prayenge, sayde at the tyme he suffered his passyon. That done, he commaunded one to bryng hym an halowed candell, & the lygne of the crucifyxe. He toke the candell in his hande, sayeng, the lorde is my lyghtenynge, and my helthe, whom shall I feare: he also kyssyng the crosse, sayd: The lorde is protectour, and defender of my lyfe, whom shall I therfore be adred of: Soy and by, he held his handes togyther vpon his breste, as a man in feruent prayer, lyftyng vp his eyes towarde heuen, sayd: Lorde Jesu, take my spyryte. And shortely after, he shytte his eyes, as thoughe he wolde goo to slepe, and therewith, with a softe blast, he yelded vp the goste. Thou woldest rather haue sayd he had ben on slepe, than deade. Mere. I neuer herde of dethe more quyet. Phed. He was of lyke fassyon in all his lyfe tyme, bothe twayne were my frendys. Perchaunce I iudge not indyfferently, whether of them departed this lyfe more lyke

a christian. Thou Mercolphus, whiche arte not parcyall, shalte more rectetely, dyscerne. Merc. So I wyll do, but at a conuenient season.

¶ Finis.

¶ Thus endeth ẏ dyaloge called Funus, made by doctour Erasmus.

¶ Erasmus.

¶ A good and a godly admonicion
or warnynge, very behouefull
for euery chrysten man
to loke vpon.

God hath apparayled the glory
of heuē to them that loue hym,
& kepe hys cōmaundementes,
and to them that (of that they
haue & done) prayse not them
selfe, ne be not proude therof, & after they
habilitie departen gladly to the pore & ne
dy: and set not theyr hertes princypally
but in our lorde: And to them ỹ the euils
the paines, and the tribulacions that com
to thewn, suffren paciently for the loue o
god. And for to haue this great glory, our
lorde admonesteth vs that We be alway
redy, and kepe vs fro synne. And that We
put not our hertes principally in this ca
tyfe worlde, Whiche is nothyng but a ly
tell passyng, full of wepyng, of sorowes
and of anguisshes, whiche we shall leue

And take none hede of the houre without
to here any thyng with vs, saue the good
dedes & the euyll that we haue done. And
our body caityfe, shal be couered with the
erthe, as a foule stynkynge carion, & worz-
mes shall eat and wrote therin. Our lord
promyseth not to vs to morow, to thende
that our hertes and our principall inten-
tion be in hym, and in his loue. For we
ought to loue god, and to remembre ofte &
deuoutly how the swete Jesus vouches-
safe to humble hym selfe for vs, and des-
cende fro his glory of heuen, into ꝑ wō be
of the glorious virgyn Mary, and becom
a man and our brother, and suffred dethe
and passion for vs, and howe he made vs
of nought, and semblable to hym, whiche
myght haue made vs (yf it had pleased
hym) lyke vnto toodes & other wormes.
If we knowe well all the graces that he
hath doon to vs, and thanke & gyue hym
laude therfore that is the thyng aboue all
other, by which we may moost soone and

moost lightely haue his loue & his grace: moche pleasaunt is it vnto god, whan one knowlegeth the graces and the benefites that he hath done for vs, and whan he is remercyed and thanked therfore.

¶ Example. It is red that the great Chauntre of Paris, founde on a tyme in a felde, a conuerse, & that is to say, a brother, & no preest, of the order of Cistreaulx) keppynge shepe, whiche was contemplatife and deuout towarde god, and wepte ofte in beholdynge a crapaulde or toode. The chauntre demaũded hym wherfore he wepte. He answered to hym, sayenge: I ought well to wepe for my synnes, and gyue thankynges to god, whiche hathe made me to his semblaunce. For yf it had pleased hym, he had well made me lyke vnto this crapaulde or toode. Thus this good man thanked and remercyed god.

Than let vs rendre & gyue graces & thankynges to our lorde of all his benefites, & let vs enioye in hym, and syng we in our

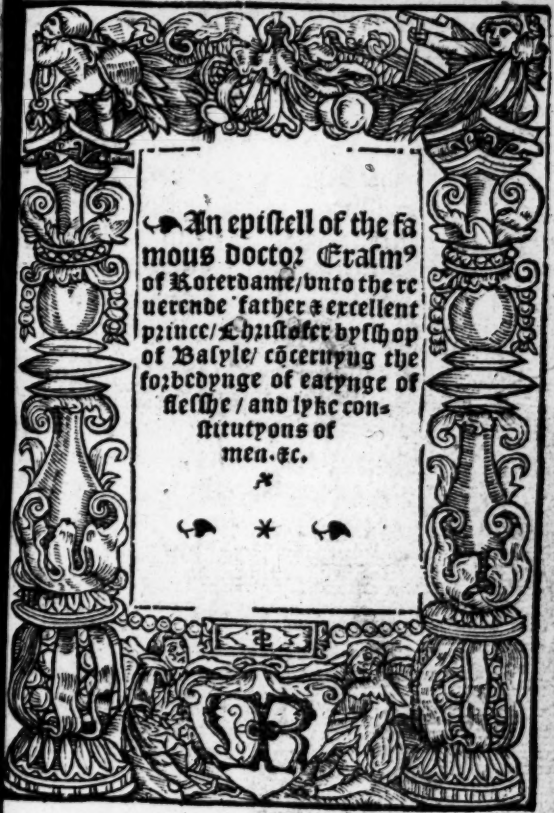
hertes with great ioye/for we be ỹ sones and the doughters of god, made and formed to his semblaunce, bretheren & sisteren of Jesu Chriſte, and bought and redemed with his preciouſe blood, fed with his preciouſe bodye, felowes to aungels of heuen, Coheriters (but yf it be longe of our ſelfes) for euer more, without ende, of the glorypouſe royalme/to the whiche bryngе vs the ſwete and debonayre Jesu Chryſte. Amen.

¶ At London, by Robert copland, for Johan Byddell/other wyſe Salyſbury. the. v. daye of January, And be for to ſell at ỹ ſygne of our lady of pyte nexte to Flete bryge.

1.5.3.4.

¶ Cum priuilegio regali.

BRITISH MUSEUM
1960
APR



An epistell of the famous doctor Eralm⁹ of Roterdame/vnto the reuerende father & excellent prince/ Christofer bysshop of Balyle/ cõcernyng the forbedynge of eatynge of flesshe / and lyke constitutyons of men. &c.

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